

BEIJING REVIEW

- China Reaffirms Support for Palestinian People
- Housing 900 Million People



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COVER: New housing has been built in the cities and countryside to improve the people's living conditions.

Right: New housing for production brigade members of a people's commune on the outskirts of Shanghai.

Left: New buildings for the people of Dukou city in Sichuan Province.

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CHRONICLE

November 19

● Chairman Hua Guofeng met with the Zaire Popular Revolutionary Movement delegation led by Kithima Bin Ramazani, Political Bureau Member and Executive Secretary of the movement.

November 20

● Chairman Hua met with a delegation of the Palestine National Council led by President Khaled Fahum. (See page 8.)

● Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with Volker Hauff, Minister of Research and Technology of the Federal Republic of Germany.

November 22

● The fifth plenary meeting of the Sino-Soviet negotiations on state relations was held in Moscow.

November 23

● Premier Hua Guofeng met with Belgian Vice-Premier Willy Claes. The same day, an agreement on the development of economic, industrial, scientific and technical co-operation was signed in Beijing between China and the Belgium-Luxembourg Economic Union.

● Chairman Hua sent a message congratulating Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on his being re-elected General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

November 24

● Foreign Minister Huang Hua ended his five-day visit to Nepal. He signed a Sino-Nepalese boundary protocol in Kathmandu with his Nepalese counterpart, and expressed satisfaction with the fulfilment of the first joint survey of the Sino-Nepalese border.

November 26

● A responsible member of the Information Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs made a statement, expressing concern over the recent development in Iran-U.S. relations. He said, "We always hold that the internal affairs of each country should be managed by its own people and that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But at the same time we hold that the principles guiding international relations and the accepted diplomatic immunities should be universally respected. We hope that a reasonable and appropriate solution can be found at an early date through peaceful consultation in accordance with principles of international law and diplomatic practice."

November 27

Premier Hua sent a cable to President Kaunda, expressing support for the Zambian Government and people in their struggle against armed incursions by Rhodesian racist forces.



Electing People's Deputies In Beijing

The election of deputies to the 7th district people's congress was held on November 15 in Beijing's East City District. Out of 592 candidates, 348 deputies were elected by secret ballot. Two other deputies will be elected later, since none got the required votes.

This was a pilot election carried out in accordance with the Electoral Law which was adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress held last June and which has expanded the people's democratic rights.

With a population of 610,000, the East City District had 384,000 registered voters, who

were divided into 115 electoral wards according to their places of work and residence. Of these, 373,497, or 96 per cent, voted.

The present way of dividing the wards is better, for the voters in each ward have a better understanding of the candidates, whereas prior to the Cultural Revolution, the wards were divided according to the voters' domiciles.

The election began in September and the candidates were finally chosen after repeated consultations for a month.

In the first round, 7,866 candidates were recommended. With this list as the basis, representatives of the various wards held consultations and 622 people were chosen.

The list was submitted in the second round to an electoral committee composed of people from various walks of life, who held consultations with the representatives of various units and produced the final list of 592 candidates after most of the voters had voiced their agreement. The units that were consulted included the district's Party committee, people's political consultative conference, trade union organization, Communist Youth League, women's federation and other people's organizations.

Of the 592 candidates, Communists accounted for 67 per cent and women 38 per cent. Of the 348 elected, Communists accounted for 62.64 per cent and women 35.05 per cent. In the East City District, the inhabitants include people of the Hui, Manchu, Mongolian and Xibe nationalities. Now they all have their deputies.

China's Legitimate Seat In I.O.C. Restored

A Chinese Olympic Committee spokesman on November 26 welcomed the result of the International Olympic Committee's ballot in favour of restoring China's legitimate rights in the I.O.C. By a majority vote, the 89-member I.O.C. supported its Executive Council's Nagoya resolution to recognize the Olympic Committee of the People's Republic of China.

According to the Nagoya resolution, (1) the National Olympic Committee (N.O.C.) of the People's Republic of China will be named the "Chinese Olympic Committee," using the flag and anthem of the People's Republic of China; (2) the Olympic Committee based in Taipei (Taipei) will be named the "Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee" and its anthem and flag will be other than those used at present and must be approved by the Executive Board of the I.O.C.

The spokesman of the Chinese Olympic Committee said that Chinese sports officials and athletes were looking forward to participation in next year's winter and summer games. He expressed the hope that the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee would accept the decision so that fellow Chinese competitors from China's mainland and Taiwan area could meet in these games.

He also proposed sports exchanges between the mainland and Taiwan area, including exchanging coaches, so as to make common progress in pre-Olympic training.

"We will give a cordial welcome to sports representatives



At one of the polling booths in Beijing's East City District.

from Taiwan to Beijing and assure them freedom of entry and departure," he said. "We will also send our representatives to Taiwan. We hope the Taiwan authorities will give priority to the honour of the nation as a whole, and facilitate such sports exchanges."

The spokesman thanked all friends in international sports circles who had upheld justice in settling the question of China's representation in the I.O.C., and pledged China's efforts to make due contributions to the development of the international Olympic movement.

Another Round of Sino-Vietnamese Talks

At the 14th Plenary Meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks held on November 22, Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government Delegation, pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities' policies of hostility to China, aggression against Kampuchea and Laos, and striving for regional hegemony pose a grave threat to peace and stability in Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole as well as to the security of China. The Chinese people will never take this lightly.

Over the past year, nearly one million Kampuchean people have died as a result of the ruthless mopping-up operations and massacres by the Vietnamese aggressor troops. At present, millions of poverty-stricken people are struggling on the brink of death. Evidence shows that up to now about 300,000 Vietnamese have settled down in Kampuchea and become masters of Kampuchean land. Meanwhile, a great num-

ber of Kampucheans have been driven out of their homesteads and are living in misery. Disregarding all these facts, however, Dinh Nho Liem, head of the Vietnamese Government Delegation, talked glibly at the conference table about "peace" and "stability" in Kampuchea and about its "sovereignty." In his speech, he attacked the recent U.N. resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea as "erroneous and invalid" and "an interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea." His speech indicated that Viet Nam intended to continue its aggression against Kampuchea and occupation of Laos.

What merits attention is that while they were stepping up their massive invasion of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities also intensified their provocations against China's Yunnan and Guangxi border areas and even sent about a hundred fully-armed military personnel to intrude into Chinese territory and attack Chinese sentry posts and villages along the border. Preliminary statistics show that from August to October 1979, Vietnamese military personnel made more than 370 armed provocations and incursions into China's Yunnan and Guangxi border regions, killing or wounding more than 30 Chinese people.

At the 14th Plenary Meeting, Han Nianlong pointed out: The Vietnamese authorities are treading on dangerous ground in doing so. He urged the Vietnamese side not to make use of the talks as a means of spreading deceptive propaganda.

Should the "Iron Rice Bowl" Be Smashed?

Beijing Ribao (Beijing Daily) recently published many letters from its readers discussing the question of employment in the urban areas, and a topic of heated debate was whether the "iron rice bowl" should be smashed.

In vernacular Chinese, "rice bowl" is the synonym for "job" and "wages," and "iron rice bowl" means a secure job and guaranteed income.

It all began with the publication last July of the article "Some Ideas on the Employment Question in Urban Areas" by Xue Muqiao, a noted economist who is adviser to the State Planning Commission.

According to Xue, more job opportunities should be created since there were large numbers of young people waiting for jobs in the cities. In the past, the state labour departments were in charge of assigning work, and neither the enterprises had any choice of personnel they wished to employ nor could the young people choose the jobs they liked. Xue held that this should be changed, and suggested that the young people be allowed to organize themselves in certain forms to engage in productive labour. For example, they could, in the light of actual needs, organize co-operative teams responsible for their own profits or losses to engage in transportation, house-building, running snacks or restaurants and doing other service work. Xue said in his article that it is not conducive to the raising of labour productivity and the modernization programme if every citizen is given an "iron rice bowl" by

the state, which means once employed, he or she will never be fired and can only be promoted, not demoted.

In September, *Beijing Ribao* published the article entitled "The 'Iron Rice Bowl' Should Not Be Smashed" by Liu Zizhen, an office worker. He disagreed with Xue Muqiao. He held that the present labour and wage system is of cardinal importance under socialism today, and that the "iron rice bowl" is a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system and must therefore be upheld. He said that under present conditions, there should be "low wages and more job opportunities" and "food for three should be shared by five while work for three should be distributed among five."

These two different views have aroused widespread interest among the workers, peasants and intellectuals. Many have taken part in the discussion. Following are some sample opinions:

—The "iron rice bowl" should not be smashed, neither should it be given without certain restrictions. An examination system should be adopted under the unified control of the labour departments, and the enterprises concerned have the right to employ or not to employ a person. Only those who have been employed through an examination should be given an "iron rice bowl," and they should undergo tests every year to determine whether or not they deserve promotion and a rise in wages.

—Concrete analysis should be made in the light of actual conditions. The term "iron rice bowl" implies that, under the

socialist system, once a worker gets a job, he doesn't have to worry about unemployment and his livelihood is guaranteed. So it is better not to speak about "smashing the 'iron rice bowl'" in general terms, lest it gives people the misleading idea that in socialist society there is also the danger of losing one's job and there is no guarantee for one's livelihood. But the practice of not checking on the work done, not awarding good work and punishing shoddy work and not promoting or demoting a person on the merit of each case must be done away with resolutely.

—If "iron rice bowl" means that no difference is made between those who do more and those who do less, between those who do a good job and those who do shoddy work and between those who work and those who do not, then it should be smashed, otherwise the system of distribution according to work cannot be enforced and it will adversely affect labour discipline and labour

productivity. Under China's present economic conditions, it is still necessary to keep to low-wage system, that is, "food for three is shared by five." But "work for three is done by five" must be opposed, for this will lead to overstaffing, lowering the labour productivity and dampening the initiative of the masses.

New Coal Mine in Shaanxi

The Sangshuping Coal Mine, with a designed annual capacity of 3 million tons, has gone into operation.

It is a large coal mine in the southern part of Shaanxi Province and is estimated to have a deposit of 670 million tons. The coal is of a high calorie and low ash content, and is therefore excellent fuel for power generation. Linked by highways and railways with other parts of the province, this mine will help promote the economic growth of Shaanxi and northwest China as a whole.

The mine was designed, built



The Sangshuping Coal Mine.

and installed by Chinese workers themselves. The whole process of production—from excavating to loading—is done by machinery controlled by an analogue panel. A big conveyor belt installed in the main incline shaft is capable of carrying 1,000 tons of coal an hour from the coal face to the ground.

The mine has built houses, shops, a hospital, nurseries, schools, cinemas and recreation centres as well as bath-houses and other service buildings for the miners and staff members.

China is rich in coal, with a verified deposit of 600,000 million tons. At present, there are more than 30 big coal mines in the country. After the downfall of the gang of four, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided to build eight big coal centres: Yanzhou in Shandong, Datong in Shanxi, Huainan and Huaibei in Anhui, Kailuan in Hebei, Xuzhou in Jiangsu, Pingdingshan in Henan, Liupanshui in Guizhou and Huolinhe in Jilin. While Huolinhe will be a completely new mine, most of the others will be expanded on the original ones.

Coal is China's major source of energy, with output continually rising in recent years. In 1977 and 1978, there was an annual increase of more than 50 million tons, and output for 1978 topped 600 million tons.

Enterprises Combining Agriculture, Industry And Commerce

What must be done so as to continually raise the production level and living standard on the state farms? This is an im-

portant question not only because there are many such farms on the outskirts of China's big cities and in the frontier regions but also because it has a vital bearing on speeding the development of agriculture as a whole.

Since the beginning of this year, experiments have been made in many places to turn these farms into enterprises combining agriculture, industry and commerce. The results obtained show that the new set-up is full of promise.

Take the 26 farms, pasturelands and fishing grounds on the outskirts of Chongqing in southwest China for example. Under separate management, they used to produce only primary products and had no processing industries at all. For a long time in the past they were in the red, but things began to change after their amalgamation into an enterprise combining agriculture, industry and commerce this year. They are now engaged in undertakings which were previously thought to be impossible.

—With its own raw materials and primary products, the amalgamated enterprise has produced industrial goods which sell well and have brought in a larger income. With this money it goes in for expanded reproduction, thereby giving a big boost to its economy. This enterprise has more than 10,000 workers and staff members, 4,600 hectares of land, an equal area of water surface and 3,000 milch cows. Though the conditions there have not changed, the enterprise has in the first

nine months earned a profit of 510,000 yuan, produced an additional 1,100 tons of milk and 63 tons of milk powder compared with the same period of last year. Besides, it has built a tea factory producing 5,000 piculs (one picul equals 50 kilogrammes) of tea a year. Now it is building a mechanized workshop with an annual output of 500 tons of malt sugar and another workshop producing 10,000 butter loaves a day.

—It has gradually adopted the method of specialized production and integrated those units engaging in the same line of work on a very small scale. The production, processing and selling of milk, fruit and tea have been put under unified management. In this way, it has raised labour productivity, reduced production costs and made use of the natural resources more rationally.

—It ensures full employment. Since the enterprise provides ample opportunities for work, it can make a more rational deployment of manpower and transfer the surplus labour force in agriculture to industry, side-line occupations and the service trades. It has built an ice-cream factory, a foundry, a brick and tile factory, a carpenter's workshop and dozens of commercial stores, thereby providing jobs for hundreds of people.

—It has increased the income of the workers on the farm. Previously, they got less pay than factory workers. Thanks to the rapid development of the combined enterprise, their income has increased and this has in turn greatly

stimulated their enthusiasm for work.

—The enterprise has helped rural communes and production brigades in the neighbourhood develop production. These communes and production brigades are not able to process their farm produce. The enterprise signs contracts with them and helps them process their raw materials and sell their products. Since most of the profits so accrued go to the communes and production brigades, this form of economic co-operation is warmly welcomed by the commune members.

There are now altogether 36 such enterprises run on a trial basis throughout the country. With the profits earned from processing and selling goods, they have increased their accumulations and promoted the development of agriculture and animal husbandry. Moreover, through selling their products directly to the consumers, they help enliven the markets and make things more convenient to the people. From the long-term point of view, they are conducive to reducing the differences between industry and agriculture and between town and countryside.

Freedom of Marriage

A news report recounting how a young couple fought for freedom of marriage was published in *Renmin Ribao* recently.

Su Min, an educated youth who had settled in the countryside, became acquainted with a P.L.A. soldier called Zhang Lu, who returned to his native village in Yongqing County of

Hebei Province after demobilization to take part in agricultural production. The two often exchanged letters and encouraged each other to do a good job in the countryside.

Early this year Su Min went to Hebei to see Zhang Lu. They were so deep in love with each other that they began to make preparations for marriage. But Su Min's parents, both being cadres, were against their daughter marrying a peasant. They hurried to Zhang's village and tried to force their daughter to return home with them. When Su Min refused to do so, they resorted to violent means. Fearing that something untoward might happen, the leading comrades in the county decided to send Su Min home together with her parents. The girl refused to budge. At this juncture the chairman of the county women's federation intervened and helped the other leading comrades of the county to understand that the young people should have the free choice of partners. The young couple finally got married with the support of the chairman of the women's federation and the prefectural people's court.

In publishing the report, *Renmin Ribao* also carried a commentary, pointing out that there still were remnant feudal ideas in some people's minds on the question of marriage. Though they pay lip-service to the freedom of marriage, the commentary went on to say, they want marriages to be "well-matched in both social and economic status." They hold that a marriage should have the permission of the parents, otherwise it is filial impiety. They also think that it is a dis-

grace for a girl to make her own choice. All these are remnants of feudal ideology.

What merits special attention is that marriages arranged by parents are still quite common. In some places the parents take the opportunity to extort money and gifts from the prospective sons-in-law.

The commentary went on to say that, though the new-democratic revolution had completed a long time ago, the struggle against feudal ideas is far from over because China was under feudalism for more than 2,000 years.

China's Marriage Law was promulgated nearly 30 years ago, the commentary said, but there are still people who in various ways intervene in the young people's love and marriage affairs. Therefore it is necessary at present to publicize and implement the Marriage Law while educating the people in the socialist legal system. It is necessary to commend those who support the principle of free choice of partners, and those who oppose the old custom of accepting money and gifts and practise economy in marriages. At the same time it is necessary to deal severely with those who persecute their children and force them to marry against their own will.



Middle East: Hua Guofeng Reaffirms Three Principles

CHAIRMAN Hua Guofeng reiterated China's three principles for solving the Middle East question when he spoke to Palestinian friends at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on November 20. He outlined the three points as follows:

- 1) The Palestinian people must realize their national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, exercise self-determination and build a Palestinian state;
- 2) The people of the Arab countries must recover their lost territories; and
- 3) The Middle East question must be solved in an all-round and impartial way.

The Chinese Chairman declared: "This stand of ours is consistent and remains unchanged."

In his talks with Khaled Fahum, President of the Palestine National Council, Chairman Hua paid tribute to the revolutionary spirit displayed by the Palestinian people and guerrilla fighters who have waged a persistent and indomitable struggle under difficult conditions.

"Your struggle will surely be crowned with victory so long as you close your ranks and keep on fighting. Your cause is just, and a just cause is invincible," Chairman Hua said.

President Fahum said: "The Chinese leaders we have met during this visit all uphold the principled stand formulated by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou of supporting the just cause of the Palestinian and Arab people." He added that Chairman Hua's talks with the Delegation of the Palestine National Council had given great inspiration to the Palestinian people who are determined to fight to the end for the restoration of their national rights.

The delegation led by President Fahum arrived in Beijing on November 18 to hold talks

with Chinese leaders and government officials on the situation in Palestine and the Middle East, other international issues of mutual concern and the furthering of friendly bilateral relations. The meetings and sincere exchanges of opinion have promoted mutual understanding and strengthened their friendship.

The Chinese people have all along sympathized with and supported the Palestinian people in their struggles. "They befriended us from the beginning of our struggle for liberation," said President Fahum. Although there have been repeated disturbances in the Middle East region during the past decade, the revolutionary militant friendship between China and Palestine has continued to surge forward. The Chinese people shared the joy of the victories won by the Palestinian and Arab people in their struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and Israeli expansionism, and were worried when they suffered setbacks.

Since World War II, the Middle East region has been in turmoil. In his talks with the Palestinian friends, Chairman Hua Guofeng pointedly remarked that the Middle East question, in appearance, is a struggle waged by the



Chairman Hua Guofeng with President Khaled Fahum, leader of the Delegation of the Palestine National Council.

Palestinian and other Arab people against the Israeli aggressors, but in effect it stems from the contention between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, for this oil-rich strategic area. During the talks between the guests and hosts in Beijing, both sides stressed the importance of unity against the enemy.

In their discussions on November 19, President Fahum said Palestine had taken sincere and responsible steps to achieve national unity, maintain good relations with the Arab countries and win the sympathy and support of other countries all over the world. There have been gratifying results, he said.

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs He Ying said that China has never interfered in the in-

ternal affairs of other countries or meddled in the Arab internal disputes. "We hope that the Arab countries will iron out their differences through consultation and close their ranks. We are willing to do our share to this end. Exposing internal conflicts to your enemy will only weaken yourselves, thus grieving those near and dear and gladdening the enemy," he noted.

Although the Palestinian and Arab people may still encounter many difficulties and twists and turns in their just struggle, the trend in the world situation is developing in their favour. So long as the Palestinian people stick to their aims, adopt practical steps and combine their principled position with a flexible strategy, their struggle will have a bright future.

— Xinhua Correspondent Zhou Cipu

Arab Summit Conference

Stress on Unity

WITH unity and avoidance of any split as its theme, the Tenth Arab Summit Conference ended in Tunis on November 22 after two and a half days of deliberations. It was attended by heads of state and government or foreign ministers from 20 countries and the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Since the United States, Egypt and Israel reached the Camp David accords in September last year and Egypt and Israel signed the peace treaty in March this year, there have been different reactions among the countries concerned and a rift has appeared in the Arab world. At this Arab summit conference, most of the participants expressed the wish not to widen the internal split. Certain problems which might have caused heated debates were properly dealt with.

The major items on the agenda were the struggle of the Arab countries against Israel, the Arab strategy of common action, and the problem of southern Lebanon.

Arab-Israeli Conflict

The just struggle of the Palestinian people has won increasing support in the world. The Israeli authorities, persisting in the policy of

aggression and expansion, have found themselves extremely isolated internationally. Many Arab delegates maintained that at this crucial stage the Arab states should strengthen their concerted actions to win more victories in the Palestinian struggle. The summit reaffirmed its support for the Palestinian people's struggle under the leadership of the P.L.O., their sole legitimate representative.

The summit denounced the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Some countries held that further measures should be taken to apply sanctions against Egypt, but most countries disagreed. Tunisian President Bourguiba pointed out that "being outside of the Arab family, Egypt cannot play the important role it once played inside our community."

Jordan stressed that the Arab countries should increase constructive dialogues and consultations rather than engage in direct or indirect propaganda campaigns against one another. The summit reaffirmed its support for the principles formulated at the Baghdad conference and it put forth an Arab strategy of common action.

When some countries advocated the further use of the oil weapon, Iraq recommended that a conference of Arab oil ministers be convened to formulate an oil policy in the context of the struggle against Israel. Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing Gulf states cautioned that the oil weapon should be used only in an emergency. It was decided at the summit that the Arab Economic Council should study how to employ Arab resources to strengthen the Arab position internationally.

In analysing the situation, delegates of the Arab states pointed out that the Arab world still faces a grave challenge by Israel. The Israeli authorities are so unrestrained because they have the connivance and support of the superpowers.

Certain disputes among the Arab states, such as the West Sahara problem, were not brought up at the summit conference.

Southern Lebanon Problem

The problem of southern Lebanon is a knotty one created by Israel.

The wars of aggression launched by Israel against Arab countries have driven hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to settle in southern Lebanon, now the only area where military action occurs between the Arab world and Israel.

Israel has since last April carried out armed invasions and wanton bombardments of towns, villages and Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon. Israel's brutal acts which lasted for five months show that it wants to strike, weaken and annihilate the Palestinian armed forces in an attempt to write off the Palestine problem once and for all, and occupy this Arab territory for ever.

In addition, Israel wants to deal a blow to the Syrian forces in the Arab Deterrent Contingent in southern Lebanon with a view to striking a favourable bargain with Syria in the future negotiations on the Golan Heights. Besides, in rigging up a "free Lebanon" headed by Haddad in the buffer zone along the border area, Israel wishes to divide Lebanon.

In connection with the problem of southern Lebanon, the United States has carried out extensive diplomatic activities. It has criticized Israel for attacking southern Lebanon with America-supplied arms, but has pledged not to cut its huge military assistance to Israel. The

other superpower is not lagging behind. While denouncing the United States for sabotaging Arab unity, the Kremlin invited a number of Arab leaders to Moscow, an action about which the Soviet Union has suddenly become enthusiastic after it failed to respond to urgent appeals for arms by the Palestinian guerrillas and Syria in their struggle against Israeli aggression.

Negotiations were held between Lebanon, the P.L.O. and Syria. But the three parties failed to reach a compromise, and no joint recommendation could be presented to the summit. Lebanon and the P.L.O. had handed their own working documents to the foreign ministers' meeting preparing for the summit. According to the Foreign Minister of Lebanon, the two documents had "major differences."

During the summit, the Arab heads of state and government spent one and a half days conducting bilateral and multilateral consultations to deal with the differences between Lebanon and the P.L.O. on the question of southern Lebanon. Agreement was reached at last. Lebanon and the other Arab countries came to a tacit understanding that the Palestinian commandoes in southern Lebanon would not attack Israel directly from there.

The summit communique reiterated that Lebanon enjoys full sovereignty over its own territory, and Lebanon's independence and integrity must be defended. The communique pointed out that aggression by Israel was the root cause of the miseries suffered by inhabitants in southern Lebanon.

Unity Gains the Upper Hand

Under the present circumstances, the Arab countries need to close their ranks.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia stressed at the opening session: We must always see clearly that our hopes to acquire political weight and moral influence will be dashed if we fall into the position of certain third world countries which oppose neutrality and non-alignment and become satellites of a great power. Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud Ibn Feisal urged all Arab countries to iron out differences in the face of the dangerous enemy. In short, the victory of the Palestinian and Arab cause will rely mainly on the unity and strength of the Arab countries.

It is no accident that the spirit of safeguarding unity and solving differences gained the upper hand at this Arab summit conference.

More on Hanoi's White Book

Following is the second article by "Renmin Ribao" and Xinhua commentators on the Vietnamese white book. It was published in "Renmin Ribao" on November 21 with the title "Sino-Vietnamese Relations During Viet Nam's Anti-French, Anti-American Struggle." The first one appeared in our last issue. — Ed.

IN the past three decades or so, the Chinese Government and people have given consistent support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for liberation. During that period, the total value of China's aid to Viet Nam, military, economic or in foreign exchange, exceeded 20 billion U.S. dollars. Of all the countries which received assistance from China, Viet Nam came first in terms of range, amount and duration. The Chinese people have always maintained that in assisting the revolutionary struggle of Viet Nam, they were fulfilling their internationalist duty. Moreover, support is reciprocal. As a consequence, China has refrained from dwelling on the aid it has given to Viet Nam.

The white book, published recently by the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, deals with what it calls "the truth about Sino-Vietnamese relations during the last 30 years." It tries to reverse and distort the history of the Chinese Government and people's 30-year unstinting support for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against France and the United States and to unify the country. It alleges without justification that China prevented the people of Viet Nam from "winning complete victory" in their war of resistance against France in the mid-50s, prevented the Vietnamese people from "stepping up the armed struggle in south Viet Nam" in the early 60s, turned on the "green light for the United States directly to invade Viet Nam" in the mid-60s and hindered the Vietnamese people from "completely liberating south Viet Nam" in the 70s. It also alleges that China "compromised and collaborated" first with the French imperialists and then with the U.S. imperialists "to restrain and undermine the Vietnamese revolution so as to subdue Viet Nam." In making these allegations, the white book slanders China as having twice "betrayed Viet Nam" during the periods of its struggle against France and the United States.

In the face of Hanoi's slanders, we feel it necessary to review the history of Sino-Viet-

namese relations during the two periods in order to give the lie to Hanoi's statements and ensure a correct understanding of the facts.

"Preventing Viet Nam From Winning Complete Victory in Their War of Resistance Against France"?

New China was founded 30 years ago. At that time the Vietnamese people had already been engaged for several years in resisting the aggression launched by the French colonialists. As President Ho Chi Minh said, the Vietnamese people had dealt with the enemy planes and artillery "with clubs." They had endured a massive disparity in strength. Though at that time China itself was encountering very grave difficulties as a result of imperialist blockade and the backlog of work yet to be undertaken, it fulfilled its internationalist duty to support and assist the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

In 1950, the Military Advisers' Mission dispatched to Viet Nam by China at the request of President Ho Chi Minh helped the Vietnamese win a series of battles including the boundary battle. Between December 1953 and May 1954, the Mission helped the Vietnamese army and people to organize and carry out the world-famous Dien Bien Phu Campaign. All the arms and ammunition, communication equipment, food and medicines used and expended in this campaign were supplied by China. As a result of the leadership of the Vietnamese Party's Central Committee headed by President Ho Chi Minh and the efforts of the Vietnamese army and people as well as the great support and assistance provided by China, the Dien Bien Phu Campaign ended with a world-resounding victory. The Vietnamese authorities in the white book do not mention at all the role of China's assistance in this campaign. Nor do they mention how they had made up their mind to fight and how the campaign was won. This indicates their consciousness that justice is not on their side.

Military victory led to a political solution. The victory at Dien Bien Phu which created the conditions for a negotiated provisional peaceful solution to the Indochina problem ultimately led to the liberation of north Viet Nam. The Geneva conference on Indochina was held from

Hoang Van Hoan Interviewed By TV Reporter

HOANG Van Hoan, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of Viet Nam, who came to China in resolute opposition to the anti-China policy of Le Duan and company, refuted the white book put out by the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry when he met a reporter from the China Central Television (C.C.T.V.) in Beijing on November 20. He appealed to all countries to strive to implement the U.N. General Assembly resolution and compel Viet Nam to pull out its troops from Kampuchea.

He said that Le Duan and company were aiming at "discrediting China and sabotaging the friendship between Viet Nam and China" by inventing many stories in the white book to distort the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations during the past 30 years.

He said: "I have carefully read through the entire white book and feel that it is a complete hodgepodge. Some of its material are sheer fabrications and some are simply falsification and distortion of facts. Some quotations from foreign publications are given out of context. After reading the material, any politically-minded person cannot fail to realize that this white book is badly patched together and that it confounds logic and is full of contradictions. Since the white book was published, international opinion, as I understand, has given it a very cool reception. Even those who sang the same tune with Le Duan and company have not known whether to laugh or cry and have found it difficult to reconcile their ideas with it."

Hoang Van Hoan pointed out that in so doing, Le Duan and company acted "in

complete violation of the interests of the Vietnamese people and in complete violation of President Ho's lines of international solidarity and good-neighbourly relations. It is crystal clear that as we find in the white book, Le Duan is not an honest and upright man. He is a man betraying the revolutionary road, and betraying national rights. He is actively serving the global strategic interests of reactionary international anti-China forces."

As one very familiar with the whole history of the 30 years of Sino-Vietnamese relations, Comrade Hoang Van Hoan said, he has written an article showing the real truth of the relations. (The article was carried in *Renmin Ribao* on November 27, 1979 and will appear in our next issue. — Ed.)

The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea by troops dispatched by Le Duan and company, Comrade Hoang Van Hoan said, "has brought calamity not only to the Kampuchean people but also to the Vietnamese people."

He said: "The U.N. General Assembly Plenary Session recently discussed the Kampuchea problem and approved by an overwhelming majority vote a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and efforts to promote the relief work for the Kampuchean refugees. The resolution is very good.

"It is my personal hope that the people of the whole world will launch a vigorous campaign against the acts of aggression by Le Duan and company, just as the recent Stockholm international conference of solidarity with the Kampuchean people did. As for the governments of various countries, it is better for them to exert still greater pressure for the implementation of the U.N. resolution at the earliest possible date."

May to July in 1954. Working in close co-ordination, the delegations of those socialist countries then represented at the conference finally succeeded in having the participants at the conference reach agreement on the restoration of peace in Indochina. The participants

signed the final declaration and the accords concerning the cessation of hostilities in the three Indochinese countries.

On the question of whether the Vietnamese people could possibly have liberated the entire country, given the then prevailing balance of

forces, Premier Pham Van Dong said in a meeting with Chairman Mao Zedong in October 1965: the Dien Bien Phu battle could only liberate half of our homeland. . This assessment tallies with the situation as it then was.

After the Geneva conference, the Vietnamese Party and leaders, on many occasions, appraised highly both the results of the conference and the close co-operation between Viet Nam and China at the conference. President Ho Chi Minh in an appeal in July 1954 stated, "At the Geneva conference, thanks to the struggle of our delegation and the assistance of the two delegations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, we have scored a great victory: The French Government has recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our country, and has agreed to withdraw French armed forces from our land." A resolution, adopted at the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party in 1960, stated: "We have won the victory of signing the Geneva agreements and restored peace in Indochina." "After the complete liberation of the north, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage." In its message to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee extended sincere thanks to the Chinese side for the "full assistance" given to Viet Nam in the war of resistance and the diplomatic struggle in Geneva.

However, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's white book states that at that time "the army and people of Viet Nam were capable of liberating their entire country" and that the Chinese leaders "colluded with the French imperialists to work out a solution advantageous to China and France, but not to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea." It continues that China's objective was to "limit Viet Nam's victory and to divide the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, in an attempt to weaken and eventually annex these countries and turn them into a springboard for expansion in Southeast Asia." "Under Chinese pressure," it states, "Viet Nam accepted the solution." These assertions have trampled underfoot the appraisal of the Geneva conference made by the late President Ho Chi Minh and the then Vietnamese Party, and tampered wilfully with the history of the Geneva conference. For their anti-China needs, the Vietnamese authorities have even resorted to the changing at will of the history of that period, as the whole world knows it. This shows to what degree they have degenerated.

"Preventing the Vietnamese People From Stepping up Armed Struggle in South Viet Nam"?

After the restoration of peace in Viet Nam in 1954, China not only provided Viet Nam with an enormous amount of aid for construction in the north but also rendered full support—in political, military, diplomatic, economic and other fields—to the just struggle of the south Vietnamese people, including their armed struggle which gradually unfurled from the late 1950s. China was the first to recognize the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front when it was founded in December 1960. Six months afterwards, Pham Van Dong led a Vietnamese Party and government delegation to visit China. In meeting with him, Chairman Mao Zedong praised and expressed firm support for the armed struggle being waged by the south Vietnamese people.

In the summer of 1962, President Ho Chi Minh and Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh came to China and requested military assistance for the people's armed forces in south Viet Nam. The Chinese Government immediately provided 90,000 weapons for the people of south Viet Nam. In the following years China provided south Viet Nam with more rifles, field guns, ammunition and other military materials as well as clothes and grain. With the escalation of the war the quantity of Chinese military aid constantly increased. All China's assistance to the people's armed forces in south Viet Nam was provided gratis. In the years of hardship when the south Vietnamese people were short of food grain as a result of the U.S. air and sea blockade, Chinese seamen aboard Chinese freighters off the shore of south Viet Nam, running the risk of losing their lives during the bombardment, managed to ship grain to them. The rice, packed in multi-layered plastic bags, was floated in on the tide to south Viet Nam. Some Chinese sailors lost their lives in this operation.

All these are established facts. The white book even claims that China "exerted pressure to force" Viet Nam to "let the U.S.-Diem clique freely repress the people of south Viet Nam," "prevented the Vietnamese people from stepping up armed struggle in south Viet Nam," and wanted the north Vietnamese people "to leave the south Vietnamese people alone in the struggle." Such claims are sheer slander.

"Turning on the Green Light for the United States Directly to Invade Viet Nam"?

The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's white book says: "The U.S. imperialists recklessly

embarked on a military venture in Viet Nam after causing the so-called 'Tonkin Gulf Incident' in August 1964. One of the main reasons for this was because the U.S. imperialists were no longer worried about the Chinese rulers' reaction." The "materials on Viet Nam-China relations" released early this year by the Vietnamese authorities also say: "Many Chinese leaders then stated, 'We will not attack unless we are attacked,' 'China will not fight outside the Chinese border.' These statements actually provided a disguised support to the continued U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam."

Historical facts brook no distortion! On August 5, 1964, the United States dispatched naval aircraft to bombard several coastal localities in north Viet Nam. On the same day, Premier Zhou Enlai and Chief of the General Staff Luo Ruiqing sent a message to President Ho Chi Minh, Premier Pham Van Dong and Chief of the General Staff Van Tien Dung, proposing "to get to the bottom of the situation and introduce counter-measures in preparation for action." On the following day, the Chinese Government issued a statement, solemnly declaring: "Aggression by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China. The Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by without lending a helping hand." "The flames of a war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam were lit by the United States. Since the United States has acted this way, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has gained the right to fight against aggression, and all the countries upholding the Geneva agreements have gained the right to assist the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its fight against aggression." That is to say, since the United States had bombed north Viet Nam, China had gained the "right of action" to assist Viet Nam. For five days running, 20 million Chinese people participated in the rallies and demonstrations throughout the country, extending support for Viet Nam in its struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The United States, while sending more ground forces to south Viet Nam, again carried out bombing of north Viet Nam in early February 1965. At this crucial moment when the United States stepped up the war, Premier Zhou Enlai solemnly announced at a mass rally in Tirana: "The Chinese people resolutely respond to the recent appeal and statement made by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and will give the south Vietnamese

people all necessary material assistance including weapons and all other war materials. We are also prepared to send our personnel to fight alongside the Vietnamese people whenever the south Vietnamese people deem it necessary."

In early April 1965, Le Duan, upon his arrival in Beijing at the head of a Vietnamese delegation, requested that the Chinese Government dispatch support forces to Viet Nam. He said: "We would like to have some volunteer pilots, volunteer fighters . . . as well as other necessary personnel, including those personnel specializing in roads, bridges and other subjects." Agreements were thus signed between the Governments of China and Viet Nam in line with the above-mentioned Vietnamese request. From October 1965 to March 1968, China dispatched to Viet Nam support forces of over 320,000 men to undertake air defence, engineering, railway and logistics work. In a peak year, China's support forces totalled more than 170,000. Together with the Vietnamese people, the Chinese support forces defended the territorial air space of north Viet Nam with their lives. They ensured a smooth and unimpeded flow of traffic on the transportation lines in north Viet Nam and enabled the Vietnamese People's Army to send large numbers of troops to south Viet Nam for combat. By July 1970 all the Chinese support forces had pulled back to China after fulfilling their internationalist mission. The remains of thousands of Chinese martyrs lie on Vietnamese soil to this day.

On April 13, 1966, Le Duan, in the presence of Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping, paid tribute to the feats of the Chinese support forces in Viet Nam. He said, "We have always thought that China is most close to us. China is providing us with the greatest and most effective support," and "if you did not give us such active support, we would only be able to win victory by sacrificing an additional two or three million people."

China's stand in supporting Viet Nam's resistance against the United States is known to the world. China's dispatch of troops to Viet Nam is no secret. The Vietnamese authorities' attempt to tamper with history can only show their stupidity.

"Hindering the Vietnamese People From Completely Liberating South Viet Nam"?

The white book has spread the lie that the Chinese leaders in 1968 threatened to reduce or even stop aid to Viet Nam and suspend rela-

tions between the two Parties and two countries in order to encourage the United States to "intensify its bombing of north Viet Nam" so as to "weaken Viet Nam." The white book also alleges that the Chinese leaders "stopped all military aid (to Viet Nam)" after the conclusion of the Paris agreement on Viet Nam in 1973. It states, "They made every effort to hinder the Vietnamese people's struggle to thwart the scheme of the United States and the Thieu administration to sabotage the Paris agreement, and to liberate south Viet Nam entirely and reunify the country," etc.

What are the facts?

Take the year 1968 as example, since the Vietnamese authorities talk a lot about it. While exchanging ideas with President Ho Chi Minh on the war situation in Viet Nam that year, Chairman Mao Zedong recommended that Viet Nam organize large-formation and annihilation warfare in south Viet Nam. President Ho Chi Minh accepted the suggestion and communicated it to the interior of Viet Nam. In that year the Chinese Government signed and executed ten agreements on its aid given gratis to Viet Nam. In the four years from 1969 to 1972, the Chinese Government signed and executed over 30 agreements on its economic and military aid given gratis to Viet Nam. It is nothing but sheer fabrication when the Vietnamese authorities claim that China "threatened to stop its aid" to Viet Nam and drastically "reduced its aid" in 1969 and 1970.

In 1967 and 1968, President Ho Chi Minh stayed long in China for medical treatment. The Chinese Government sent its best doctors to cure President Ho of his illness. During the same period, with a view to closely co-ordinating the military struggle with the Viet Nam-U.S. negotiations, the Vietnamese authorities often wanted to recall military commanders from south Viet Nam to Hanoi or send some responsible members from Hanoi to the south. When it received requests from the Vietnamese side, China sent special planes for Viet Nam's responsible members going from Hanoi to south Viet Nam, or from south Viet Nam to Hanoi, via China. They included Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Vo Chi Cong and Nguyen Van Linh. Many sorties were flown within a year. Vietnamese Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi was warmly received when he visited China in 1968 to hold talks on China's aid to Viet Nam. How can these facts be made to show that China wanted to "suspend relations between the two Parties and two countries"?

After the signing of the Paris agreement in January 1973, whenever the Vietnamese leaders visited China or stopped over in China, they exchanged views with China's leading members on the strategic principles to be followed after the signing of the agreement. Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai explicitly pledged that China would continue to grant aid to Viet Nam since they realized that the final solution to the problem depended on armed struggle. For Nguyen Van Thieu would still have troops in their hundreds of thousands even when the United States had withdrawn its troops from south Viet Nam. In accordance with this principle, China granted Viet Nam thousands of millions of yuan (RMB) in aid even though the scale of war was reduced after the signing of the Paris agreement. The Vietnamese authorities can in no way write off the fact that China had vigorously supported the Vietnamese people in their struggle to topple the Thieu administration and reunify their country.

Economizing on food and clothing, the Chinese Government and people spared themselves no sacrifice to carry out their promise to help Viet Nam. The late Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai went to any length to support Viet Nam. For many years, the Vietnamese leaders time and again expressed thanks to the Chinese leaders for this. In 1975, when the whole of Viet Nam was liberated, Le Duan said, "Obviously, Viet Nam could not exist today without China which has won the revolution. This is the logic of history." On November 22, 1977, Le Duan told Chairman Hua Guofeng in Beijing, "Now, I can assure Comrade Hua Guofeng that Viet Nam has always regarded China as its good friend. We are your younger brothers, constantly standing on your side and we would not do otherwise. When Soviet revisionists were opposing China, we were in the same boat, and we, too, opposed what they were doing."

While these words remain still fresh in our minds, the Vietnamese leaders have gone so far as to repudiate all that they have said and now even consider China as a sworn enemy from generation to generation in contravention of what President Ho Chi Minh had said about the Sino-Vietnamese relations. He described them as being characterized by "deep kindness, great brotherhood and profound friendship" of "both comrades and brothers." All this proves that it is none other than the Vietnamese authorities that have betrayed Sino-Vietnamese friendship, the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and Marxism-Leninism.

Mounting Armed Conflicts

IN the region of northwest Africa, armed conflicts over claims on West Sahara have increased in recent months, and the superpowers are actively interfering. To safeguard peace and stability, African countries and the parties concerned are continuing their efforts to seek a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

Recent Situation on the Battlefield. In August this year, Mauritania signed a peace agreement with Polisario (the West Sahara People's Liberation Front) and withdrew from the four-year-long desert war. This left two belligerent sides, Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisario, and armed conflicts between them appear to be growing. In less than two months, up to early October, Polisario launched three large-scale offensives against the Moroccan troops stationed in West Sahara. During the third attack, the two sides fought a fierce battle through the night on October 15 in Semara, the second largest city in West Sahara. It was considered the longest and biggest battle in the West Sahara conflict.

The Western press held that Polisario was able to launch successive offensives against the 30,000-40,000 Moroccan troops and take the initiative in several military engagements because, apart from its fighters being able to bear hardships and stand hard work and being experienced in desert warfare, it obtained such arms as SAM-7 missiles, military vehicles

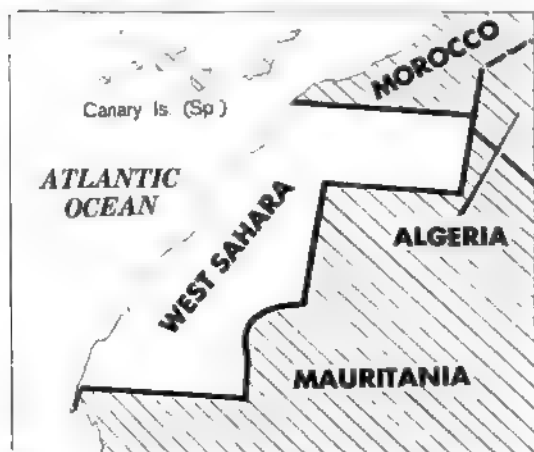
equipped with various kinds of cannon and light armoured cars from the Soviet Union through certain African countries.

To end its passive posture, Morocco on November 3 sent a force of 7,000 men with air support to start a large-scale "mopping-up" operation in the Semara-Hawza-Farciya triangle. This was said to be the biggest attack Morocco has initiated since the West Sahara war broke out. On November 6, Moroccan troops followed up with a counterattack on the Polisario from Boukraa, a phosphate mining area more than 100 kilometres from la'Young, capital of West Sahara. Both Polisario and Algeria censured Morocco and said its action would further expand the war.

Superpowers' Intervention. The Moroccan News Agency denounced the Soviet's intervention in the West Sahara fighting. Maghreb Arabe Presse quoted recently a report from ABC in Madrid saying that Cuban artillery specialists and military advisers, serving as Soviet mercenaries, were participating in Polisario's military actions. Quoting from the London press, ABC reported that Arnoldo Ochoa Sanchez, commander of the expeditionary army sent by Castro to Africa, has already received orders to lead the Cuban troops to the Sahara. Some of the Western press also believed that the Soviet Union had a hand in the escalation of the West Sahara war.

To counter the Soviet Union and safeguard its interests in northwest Africa, the United States decided on October 20 to sell Morocco aircraft for attacking surface targets, "Cobra" armed helicopters with anti-tank missiles as well as armoured troop carriers and trucks. High-ranking officials of the U.S. State Department said that the purpose of this was to push for an end to the West Sahara war through negotiations. Sent by President Carter, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Christopher went to the capital of Morocco on October 29 and discussed with King Hassan the question of peace and stability in the region. He "reiterated firm U.S.

(Continued on p. 30.)



Housing China's 900 Million People

by Our Correspondent Zhou Jin

With housing covering a total floor space of 531.5 million square metres built between 1949 and 1978 in the nation's cities, towns and industrial and mining areas, slums in many cities have disappeared. The people's livelihood and housing have been basically guaranteed. The state is making tremendous efforts to solve the problem of overcrowded living quarters in the cities.

In the vast rural areas, the sharp contrast between luxurious landlord manors and dilapidated peasant hovels has become a thing of the past. Now we are confronted with the arduous task of rebuilding the countryside according to a unified plan, a task which is being carried out at an accelerated pace.

General Housing Situation In Cities and Countryside

FOR a large country of over 900 million people, with a weak economic foundation, it is an important, arduous task to solve the problem of food and clothing as well as the housing problem. What are the housing conditions of the Chinese people after 30 years of socialist revolution and construction?

This correspondent has recently collected some information from the departments concerned.

Cities

Between 1949 and 1978, the country built living quarters covering a floor space of 531.5 million square metres for the residents of cities, towns and industrial and mining areas, the greater part of it being a form of reconstruction. This to varying extents improved living conditions for most of the 110 million urban inhabitants. Those who benefited most were working people who had been at the bottom of the social ladder in the old China.

Slums have disappeared, such as Beijing's Longxugou (Dragon Beard Ditch), Tianjin's

Liuhaomen (Gate No. 6), Qingdao's Hamawan (Bay of Toads), Harbin's 36 hovels, all notorious for their dilapidated dwellings and wretched, unsanitary environment. These places were cleaned up and have made way for blocks of modern residential buildings.

What a world of change this represents for the inhabitants of those pre-liberation slums!

Following the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce in 1956, privately owned houses, except for those left for the use of the owners themselves and the small number of rooms to be let out by the owners according to government policy, were transformed into public ownership. A typical example is the famous coastal city of Qingdao which has a population of 910,000.

CHANGES IN THE OWNERSHIP OF
QINGDAO'S HOUSING

Category	1949(sq.m.)	1976(sq.m.)	Increase
Houses under city management bureau	1.49 million	4.5 million	202%
Houses managed by units themselves	1.55 million	7.96 million	414%
Private houses	4.12 million	0.88 million	-78.7%
Total floor space of housing	7.16 million	13.34 million	86%

All urban inhabitants, irrespective of their occupations, are provided with housing to ensure their minimum needs by the units in which they work. Rents are low and stable, accounting generally for only 2 to 3 per cent of a family's monthly wages. This expenditure plus charges for water and electricity amounts to only 5 per cent. So there is no anxiety over being left homeless or driven out because of inability to pay the rent.

In China, the time is gone for ever when "meat and wine went to waste behind vermillion gates while out on the road lay the bones of those frozen to death." So is the system of exploitation. The basic daily needs,



New workers' quarters in Shanghai.

including housing, for the working people are now guaranteed.

However, the housing shortage is widespread, particularly in big cities with a large population and fairly rapid industrial development. Take 192 big and medium-sized cities for example. In 1978 per-capita living floor space was only 3.6 square metres (not including the floor space of kitchen, lavatory and corridor). About one-third of the inhabitants in these cities live under rather crowded conditions and they badly need more living space.

What caused the housing shortage?

Economists generally agree that this is one of the consequences of a too rapid growth in population and an imbalance in the development of different economic branches. An imbalance between different economic sectors, including that between accumulation and consumption, occurred in the late 1950s. Enormous improvements were made during the period of readjustment of the national economy which started in the early 1960s. But later, during the Cultural Revolution, the imbalance became even more acute. Many city construction and housing projects had to be postponed or discontinued, which exacerbated the latent housing problem.

A notable aspect of the problem is that the increase in housing has fallen short of the population growth. According to statistics from 192 cities, the population in 1978 was 76.82 million, an increase of 83 per cent over that of 1949; whereas total floor space of housing in 1978 was 277.18 million square metres, an increase of only 46.7 per cent over that of 1949 (deducting the floor space of the old houses already pulled down). Therefore, despite the improved housing standards and the increase in the number of houses, the floor space per person was relatively reduced by 0.9 square metre.

Another factor was that housing construction did not conform with productive construction. During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), state investments in city housing construction constituted 9.1 per cent of the total investments for capital construction, which was a proper ratio. But later, this proportion was gradually reduced, and it dropped to 3.98 per cent during the Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70). In the 11 years between 1966 and 1976, the average floor space of houses completed every year was only 18 million square metres. With too few houses and an expanding population, the shortage of living space naturally became more acute than ever.

Countryside

The situation in the countryside differs from that in the cities.

During the reform of the feudal land system around 1950, the large manors of the landlords and their surplus houses were confiscated. Some of the houses were distributed to poverty-stricken peasants, others were taken over for public use. The dilapidated hovels and scattered villages were transformed in varying degrees along with the development of agricultural production and the raising of the peasants' living standards.

Although the transformation had specific characteristics in different localities, there has been a common trend:

- The raising of quality. The old, simple, sun-dried brick and thatched houses were replaced by sturdy, durable brick houses.
- Improvement of sanitation and environment. Lodgings provided for people were separated from those for animals, lavatories were kept clean, manure-piles were located at specified spots and attention was paid to preventing pollution of water sources.

• Houses are no longer built here and there at random by individuals but by the collective building force according to a unified plan and style. Houses built with individual investment are the property of the individuals. Those built with the investment of the production brigade belong to the collective and the rooms are let to brigade members at low rents. Individual investment covers the majority of cases.

• Existing natural villages which were somewhat scattered and covered a large area were generally moved and amalgamated into new villages which were properly concentrated, so that the cultivated land would not be further reduced. At the same time, some welfare facilities were built to meet the growing needs of the peasants.

On the grasslands, the herdsmen after generations of nomadic life have established permanent settlements. For instance, on the Inner Mongolian grasslands, yurts are still used in the summer because of the need for mobility during the grazing season. Brick and tile houses have generally been built in the settlements as winter quarters. At the same time, schools, clinics and other public facilities have been set up in production brigades, giving the herdsmen's lives more stability and security.

In the old society, boatmen and fishermen used to live on their boats the year round with no permanent anchorage. Since liberation, they have gradually begun to settle on the land and new fishing villages have been built.

Since the natural environment, historical conditions and level of economic development vary in different places, achievements in housing construction also differ widely in the villages. Roughly speaking, progress is faster in the eastern coastal areas and in areas south of the Changjiang River; but there is not much progress in the hinterlands where the economy is relatively backward. For instance, in western Gansu Province, people still live in cave dwellings. For areas such as this, it is still a big difficult task to provide good housing. Economic development is the prerequisite for the improvement of living conditions. Rural housing will be improved in a planned way with the help of the state by giving play to the

economic strength of the collective and by developing production as fast as possible.

Workers' Housing in Yantai

I WENT to the city of Yantai in Shandong, one of the most populous provinces of China, to look into the housing situation.

Yantai was the first port in Shandong to be opened by the imperialists, as stipulated in the humiliating Treaty of Tianjin which the British imposed upon the Qing dynasty government in 1858. When Yantai was liberated in 1948, its small wharf could only accommodate 3,000-ton ships and the greatest amount of cargo it handled was 47,000 tons a year. Opium dens and brothels were ubiquitous.

Now Yantai has become an important seaport for foreign trade and fishery with three deep-water berths for ships of over 10,000 tons and three medium ones for 5,000-ton ships. The port's handling capacity of cargoes is nearly 100 times that of the pre-liberation days. The city is also noted for its breweries and its canning and watch factories. These changes should, in the main, be attributed to the efforts of the workers who now enjoy the resultant benefits.

Changes in Zhangjiayao

Close to the centre of the town is a rebuilt workers' residential area which used to be called Zhangjiayao before liberation. Along both sides of Jianchang Street stand over 20 five- or six-

Workers' residences on Jianchang Street in Yantai: old and new.



storeyed buildings, all of which have been built with investments from various enterprises and with the help of the government. The enterprises assigned the apartments to their workers and staff members. In each of the three- or four-room apartments, having a floor space of 28 or 39 square metres respectively, one room is a large kitchen with a flue that runs into the *kang** in the other rooms. Every apartment also has a lavatory and a balcony. The rents are graded according to the quality of the amenities provided, with the state granting a 60 per cent subsidy (see the table below). Generally, the tenants only pay a monthly rent of 2.2 to 3.5 yuan, or about 2 per cent of their total income.

Grades of Rents in Yantai

Grade	Rent	Rent Paid by the Tenant
	(yuan per square metre)	(yuan per square metre)
First	0.236	0.09
Second	0.187	0.08
Third	0.152	0.07
Fourth	0.134	0.06
Fifth	0.117	0.05

Mrs. Wang, chairwoman of the residents' committee, told me that most of Zhangjiayao's 452 households had fled their famine-stricken villages and come here to seek a living either by doing odd jobs or picking through the refuse heaps. They had to live in very shabby mud huts, which hardly sheltered them from the wind and rain. After liberation the government pulled all these huts down and built brick bungalows for the workers. In the late 60s, this area with its 1,400 families gradually assumed its present appearance. Zhang Shoufu, who is over 60, and his family have witnessed all of these changes.

Before liberation Zhang Shoufu and his wife, Tian Meiyu, came to Yantai with their three children by begging. Zhang got a job in Yantai as a stevedore. As the family could not afford to pay rent, they dug a cave in a slope at the west end of today's Jianchang Street and rigged up a mat shed at the entrance. Then in 1947, Zhang Shoufu and his 15-year-old eldest son were pressganged into the Kuomintang army and sent away. Tian Meiyu was so badly beaten

that she was injured. Later on Zhang Shoufu managed to escape and come back while his eldest son crossed over to the People's Liberation Army and was honoured as a combat hero for his gallantry in action.

After liberation the government assigned a 3-room brick house to Zhang Shoufu's family, thus ending their wretched life in the cave. His daughter, now 42, and youngest son, now 39, both found jobs, got married and moved into their own homes. His eldest son, now 46, is working as a cadre at the regimental level in the People's Liberation Army. When new apartment buildings were completed in 1975, Zhang Shoufu and his wife moved into one of the three-room apartments, where they are now enjoying their retirement by helping to raise a young granddaughter.

Rapid Transformation at Sidaowan

The area which used to be called Sidaowan (meaning narrow, winding streets) was once teeming with pedlars and stallkeepers. After liberation brothels were banned as a matter of course. Some of the houses were sold to the workers at reduced prices for residences. But despite repeated repairs, the area with its low cramped housing retained its old appearance.

In the mid-60s the government decided to replace all these quarters with new apartment houses. One building was actually completed before work had to be suspended because of the Cultural Revolution. Not until the overthrow of the gang of four was construction resumed. One five- and one six-storeyed buildings have now been completed and one-fifth of the 1,100 families in the neighbourhood have moved into new homes. Another two buildings are under construction and five more are planned for the next year.

I interviewed some of the residents in the old houses which are scheduled to be demolished in the near future. Most of them live in overcrowded housing. Hao Tingxian, a middle-aged woman worker, talked about her situation. She and her husband, a worker at the local port authority office, have five children between the ages of 22 years and 14. Their eldest two daughters are apprentices at a canning factory and a watch-case factory. The family's combined wages come to 144 yuan — not a meagre income in China where the cost of living is low and workers have substantial benefit. However, the family is pressed for space. They live in a 3-

* *Kang* is a brick or adobe platform used for sleeping on in north China. It is kept warm by hot air which passes through a flue from the kitchen oven.

room small bungalow of 24 square metres, which is mostly occupied by beds. There is hardly enough room for a table and chairs while articles for daily use have to be hung on the walls. Yet, despite such inconveniences, Hao Tingxian is still very cheerful.

"Aren't you upset that you have to live in such crowded rooms?" I asked her.

"We are still much better off than we were during the homeless days of the past," she answered. "Of course, we do feel cramped for space, but with the gang of four down and the four modernizations in full swing, we are quite hopeful. When I see many tall buildings going up around me, why should I worry about my housing situation?"

Home of a Woman Specialist

Chen Puxian, 50, is a woman liquor specialist and an engineer at the local distillery which produces China's most famous brandy and a number of wines. She is also a deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress and a deputy to the Shandong Provincial People's Congress. Her husband is a technician who specializes in grape-growing at the same distillery. Their only child, a daughter, is a student at the Qingdao School of Applied Arts. Chen lives with her husband and mother-in-law, who is over 70 years old, on Jingan Road in a brick bungalow of three rooms and a kitchen with a total floor space of 37 square metres. Old as the house is, it is sturdy and bright.

Chen Puxian told me that the only inconvenience in their life is that they have to fetch water from a public tap on the street. However, when they come home from work, they often find the water vat at their home filled to the brim—a voluntary deed by the workers at the distillery or their daughter's former schoolmates.

At the beginning of this year an apartment house belonging to the distillery was completed in the vicinity of the vinery. Twenty families were eligible for six apartments that consisted of four rooms each. The leadership decided to assign an apartment to Chen Puxian. She learnt about this shortly before the new occupants' list was to be published. Feeling very uneasy, she repeatedly asked the leadership not to show special concern for her but to assign the new apartment to someone with greater need. She was so sincere and earnest in her entreaty that the leadership decided to

postpone her turn until the next time new houses were ready for occupancy.

Uneven Development

Li Jingcheng, vice-mayor of Yantai, told me that like many other cities in China, Yantai also suffers from a housing shortage and uneven economic development. Between 1949 and 1978, the population in the city proper rose from 85,000 to 212,000, registering an increase of 160 per cent. The total number of workers and staff members increased from 10,000 to 130,000. The total value of industrial output rose from 7.9 million yuan to 1,098.7 million yuan, or a 139-fold increase. However, the total floor space of residences increased in the same period from 960,000 square metres to 1,650,000 square metres, a mere 62 per cent. Thus the housing shortage has become more acute since liberation.

Of the 19 workers' families I visited in Yantai, 17 have between 3 and 8 children. Wang Guihua, for instance, is over 50 and married to a worker in a fishing team. The first three of their seven children are married and have each been allotted apartments in the last ten years. But this has not solved their housing problem because others in the family also want to get married. Wang Guihua hopes her eldest daughter-in-law, who has only one child, will decide to be sterilized. "No matter how many houses the state builds, there will never be enough, if young people don't start paying attention to planned parenthood," she said.



Wang Guihua at home.

In the past several years new houses have been built at a much faster pace in Yantai. No less than 8,800 families, more than one-fifth of the city's 41,000 families, have moved into new homes. As a result, the housing shortage has begun to ease.

New-Type Farmhouse

THE Jiaonan County near Qingdao, Shandong Province, has mountainous areas, hills and plains. With a population of 768,000, the county's peasants tilling the 76,000 hectares of land are organized into 24 people's communes which embrace 1,028 production brigades. The main farm work there is grain production.

The county was very poor before New China was founded in 1949. Even after the agricultural co-ops had been formed all over the country in 1956, it was still for quite a long period a backward county which depended on state loans and grain.

After the Conference on Agricultural Work in North China was convened by the State Council in 1970, the county Party committee led the peasants in learning from the Dazhai people's spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance in transforming and rearranging the county's natural environment. Production thus grew rapidly. Since 1975, the average per-hectare yield in the county has reached 6 to 6.7 tons while in 1970 it was 3.2 tons and in 1949, one ton. This makes it possible for building up the countryside and improving the living conditions on a large scale. Through several years of sustained efforts, the possibility has become a reality.

Of the county's production brigades, nearly half, or 470, have built new villages. In another 460 brigades new villages are under construction. When these two are put together, they make up 90 per cent of the county's total number of production brigades. In recent years, three-fourths of the peasants have moved into their new, stone-based brick houses, whose total number of rooms is half a million.

The First New Village

The Wandong brigade of the Dachang commune was the first to set an example for the whole county by building a new type of village in 1969.

Situated by the Jili River, the brigade's area had been at the mercy of sandstorms. The original three natural villages were separated



New houses for commune members in Jiaonan.

by eight sand dunes and 12 ponds. Except for the four landlords and one rich peasant, all the 120 families in the locality were poverty-stricken peasants. They lived in small huts made of mud and straw, which naturally could not guard against the elements.

As folklore had it, you had to dry your laundry in the house and go outdoors when it rained lest the house should cave in. After the land reform in 1950 and the subsequent movement for agricultural co-operation, the peasants were liberated politically and economically. Their livelihood was improved, but their living conditions still left much to be desired.

Beginning in 1966, the Wandong brigade began to plant trees to control the sand, and build water conservancy works. In the meantime, old houses were pulled down and new ones built in a planned way. The sand finally yielded to human efforts three years later. The brigade's 58 hectares of farmland all became fields giving high and stable yields. The average output in 1978 was 13.5 tons per hectare. The three natural villages were removed to make room for two hectares of farmland. A new village with 1,190 rooms was built, 330 for public use and the rest for the 201 peasant families, averaging ten square metres per person. (The figure also applies to the county as a whole.)

The layout of the village is reasonable. Every house has three or four rooms, including a kitchen. Each room is 12 square metres large. The smoke from the kitchen stove is so venti-

lated as to warm the *kang* — a kind of brick bed used by the peasants in north China — in the neighbouring bedroom. Every house has a courtyard of 9×12 M² or 12×12 M² installed with a storeroom, a lavatory, a pigsty and a coop. Every two or three houses adjoin each other, and there are streets outside 10 to 12 or 6 to 8 metres wide. The brigade's office, a retail shop, a clinic and a primary school are situated in the centre of the village, while the tractor station, a threshing ground, a water tower and a transformer building are by the end of it. A small wood and an apple orchard are at its back. The brigade's collective pigsty, kiln and flour mill are scattered around the village.

The new houses are distributed according to the number of family members and the amount of the family's investment. Every family gets at least one house, sometimes two. The house is owned by the peasants.

Built on Collective Strength

The Wandong brigade was looked upon as an example for the whole county because it was the first to build up a new village and, giving play to the superiority of the collective economy, it got the funds, materials and labour power needed for building houses, thereby meeting the peasants' desire for improving living conditions.

Shen Defu, the brigade's Party branch secretary, told me how they had done all that.

- Under the leadership of the brigade's management committee, a group composed of veteran peasants and experienced builders is responsible for the new-village building plan, designing of houses and allocation of manpower.

- Money and material are mainly provided by the house owners themselves. Those families which are hard up may be subsidized from the brigade's collective welfare fund with the peasants' approval.

- The brigade set up a kiln and organized a quarrymen's team to provide building material at a low cost.

- All the manpower needed for pulling down the old houses and building new ones is under the brigade's unified allocation. The dust from the old bricks can be used as manure. When it is handed in to the production team, it is converted into work-points for the owner.

- The 70-man builders' team is recruited from different production teams in the brigade.

Their members get their work-points just as ordinary team members do and participate in the distribution of farm products in their respective teams.

- Influenced by the centuries-old feudal superstitious ideology, some peasants were not willing at first to move into the new houses built on the old site of a pond, thinking it was unlucky. If this happened, the secretary and members of the Party branch committee would give the peasants patient persuasion or take the lead in moving into the new houses themselves.

The local tradition in house building was like this: When a peasant wanted to build a new house, he must first spend a lot of time and money to get the material ready. Then he would ask his neighbours to come over to help, giving them good food. When the beam was put on, a big celebration should be held in the manner of a wedding party. So the saying went: It took three years to prepare the material, another three to build a house, and still another three to pay back the debt. Now to have a house built by collective strength, the peasants pay only 200 to 600 yuan. Everyone is happy about this.

The experience of the Wandong brigade was convincing. The other brigades followed suit. This aroused the attention of the leadership. In 1973, the county Party committee convened a meeting on rural house building, during which the Wandong experience was introduced. Since then, 70,000-80,000 rooms have been built every year for the peasants.

Easier Life for Peasants

Sanitation in the countryside has been greatly improved by the building of new villages. Every house has a separate lavatory and pigsty. Drinking water and dirty water or sewage are carried by separate pipes and there are regular sterilizings of feces and dung. Flies, mosquitoes and infectious diseases have been controlled. There are altogether 4,500 wells in the county with hand-operated pumps and over half of the production brigades have electricity.

After the building of the new villages, life is easier for the peasants. As retail shops, clinics, primary schools and other public facilities are set up in the villages, people don't have to walk miles to buy daily necessities, visit doctors or send their children to distant schools. In addition, there are department stores, hos-



Stone or earth cave dwellings in north China's mountain areas are warm in winter and cool in summer. These are stone cave dwellings of the Dazhai Production Brigade in Shanxi Province.



Inner Mongolian herdsmen, who lived in yurts and led a nomadic life, have moved into permanent brick houses. This is a herdsman's house of a stock-raising brigade.



Flat-roof brick houses, typical peasant houses on the north China plain, are built with less work and materials. The roof can be used as a sunning ground. This is a new village built in Hebei Province after the earthquake in the Xingtai area in 1966.



The Uyghur people in Xinjiang generally build their earth-wooden houses in traditional style.

The Dai people who used to live in simple bamboo houses often suffered from accidental fires and insect pests. Now two-storeyed brick buildings with verandas have been built in some places. This is a new building of a Dai nationality village in Yunnan Province.



To save land, more and more such buildings are being built in areas south of the Changjiang River with a large population and little cultivated land. This is the cultural centre of the Huaxi Production Brigade in Wuxian County (for rural housing in these areas see front cover photo)

pitals and middle schools in the township where the offices of the people's communes are. As a commune is linked with its brigades by highways, they are easy of access. Some brigades even built Homes for Respecting the Aged to care for aged people who have no offspring.

All this creates favourable conditions for an easier life for the peasants. We visited the home of Sheng Yuge, a 64-year-old poor peasant of the Xinanyuan brigade, Lingshanwei commune. He told us a story of his own.

Before liberation, his home town was very poor. More than 50 per cent of the local peasants were hired labourers. His father was among those who went to seek a living in north-east China. Although production was raised and life improved after agricultural co-ops were formed, the outflow of population did not stop. It was only after the new village had been built which provided houses for every peasant family that the farmers finally all settled down.

Sheng Yuge was once the Party branch secretary in the village. Later he went to work in the office of the county government. He now receives a pension of 34 yuan every month. Four of his grown-up sons live separately. The eldest son is working in the commune's fishing team and lives with his six family members in a four-room house. The second son is working in the brigade's side-occupation team and also has a house of his own for his five-member family. The third is a lumberman in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region who has just got married. The fourth lives in a dormitory for he works in the

county seat. The old couple is now living with the fifth and youngest son in a four-room house. A middle-school graduate, the son is doing farmwork in the production team. The mother in her late fifties keeps the house. She also raises four pigs, which earn them an income of 700 yuan a year. Life seems easy for the family. Yet Sheng told us that compared with his two eldest sons, his life is still not good enough.

Effective Measures Adopted

OVERTHROW of the gang of four saved the national economy from collapse and removed the biggest obstacle to improving the living conditions of the people.

During the last three years, while making efforts to rapidly restore and expand production, the state has allocated an average of 4.080 million yuan every year for building houses in the cities. This represents a three-fold increase, compared with the average annual investments for the period between 1966 and 1976. Floor space completed in 1977 amounted to 28 million square metres and in 1978 to 37 million square metres, and the figure for this year is estimated at over 40 million. Compared with the average annual figure for the period of 1966-76, this represents an increase of 52.2 per cent for 1977, more than 100 per cent for 1978 and 150 per cent for this year. Such speed and achievements in housing construction have been rare since the founding of the People's Republic.

The government has taken numerous effective measures to speed up urban housing construction:

Key Projects Guaranteed. The three-year readjustment of the national economy beginning this year places primary importance on solving the problem of disproportionate economic development. Within this framework, the building materials industry and new housing are listed as key sectors which must be guaranteed. The state has decided to continue efforts to improve fundamentally the overcrowded living conditions in the cities by 1985.

Pool Funds for Housing Construction. This takes three forms: (1) Increased state investment; (2) Pooling of more funds by the locality itself. It has been decided that the revenue

Peasant Lin Yuhuan's house in Lingshanwei commune.





Private houses in Fuzhou.

of various localities, apart from being used for capital construction of farmland and industries supporting agriculture, should be used mainly in putting up more houses for the workers and office staff; and (3) Wide use of funds raised by enterprises (mainly pooled from premiums for overfulfilment of the state plan and allowances for house repairing and for renovating their fixed assets). According to estimates the funds from these three sources will amount to no less than 6,000 million yuan this year. This is equivalent to 10 per cent of the total state investment in capital construction, surpassing the amount for housing in the First Five-Year Plan.

Improve Management. Housing belongs to the category of consumer goods. Housing construction is closely linked with city construction. But for a long time in the past, this was looked upon as a sort of "welfare" for the workers and office staff and placed separately under the care of each enterprise or department. Without unified planning, there was inefficiency as well as waste of materials and funds. During the past few years, however, many cities have set

up special companies under the unified leadership of the State Capital Construction Commission. These companies are responsible for planning, designing, constructing, allocation, repair and management. This has helped overcome the shortcomings mentioned above and raised efficiency. On this basis, discussions are now under way for concrete measures to gradually shift housing construction to commercialized production so as to bring it into line with objective economic laws.

Expand Private Housing. This means giving permission to people to build houses for themselves with their own money, while the organization in charge of housing helps and supplies necessary building materials. This method is called "building houses for private use with state assistance." If the house is built on privately owned land, it belongs to the individual. If it is built on public land, the house still belongs to the individual, but he must pay rent for the land. Now this method is used to help solve the housing problem in the cities. Where this method has been tried out, as in Fuzhou and other places, it has won the support of many families in need of housing, and large numbers have applied to build their own houses.

Improve Building Techniques. This includes the study and making of new building materials and large-scale manufacture of prefabricated parts as well as introduction of advanced technology to the industrialization of housing construction. The purpose of this is to change as quickly as possible China's traditional building methods, that is, methods involving a great deal of manual labour.

The people have every reason to be optimistic about their future living conditions. From the policies, measures adopted and progress made after the downfall of the gang of four, they see that workers, peasants and intellectuals are no longer haunted by the fear of being condemned as "revisionists" because of their proper desire for a good life. This desire, once described by some "revolutionary empty-talkers" as a "castle in the air," is in the process of being realized.

ZAMBIA

On Full Alert

On November 20, President Kaunda at a press conference in Lusaka condemned the recent outrageous attacks by Rhodesian troops on Zambian economic infrastructures. He also announced the call-up of Zambian reservists and the cancellation of leave for all military men in active service to meet a situation of full-scale war.

Since the constitutional conference on Rhodesia in London opened on September 10, the Rhodesian authorities have repeatedly sent troops to attack Zambia, other frontline countries of Africa and Zimbabwean guerrilla bases. On November 18 and 19, in Mkushi of the central province, seven Zambian soldiers and one police officer were killed and bridges destroyed by Rhodesian troops.

This was part of a new strategy of the Rhodesian authorities, aimed at crippling Zambia's road and rail facilities and forcing the country to bring pressure to bear upon the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front guerrillas for more concessions at the present London peace talks. This action only shows that the Rhodesian authorities lack sincerity in the London peace talks. Kaunda has stated that Zambia will never succumb to the enemies.

On November 22, some 3,000 demonstrators, most of them youth, gathered in front of the

State House to protest Rhodesia's wanton attacks against Zambia and support the mobilization orders issued by President Kaunda.

Leaders of a number of African countries have sent messages to Zambia, expressing support for the Zambian Government's struggle against Rhodesian aggression.

On November 23, the U.N. Security Council held an urgent meeting and adopted a resolution condemning Rhodesia's repeated acts of aggression against Zambia. It calls upon the British Government as the administering authority to take prompt measures to ensure that the racist minority regime in Rhodesia stop these acts. And it demands that the responsible authorities pay full compensation to Zambia for the damage done to life and property.



PAKISTAN

U.S. Embassy Attacked

On November 21, several thousand people encircled and attacked the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad and burned part of it. There were casualties, both Pakistani and American. Pakistani troops were sent to the spot and freed the embassy personnel who had been captured by the masses. Some U.S. institutions in Islamabad, Rawal-

pindi and Lahore suffered great damage, too.

The incident took place after a radio broadcast released a story that when some 15,000 pilgrims prayed at the holy Khana Kaaba in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, on the morning of November 20, a group of armed men attacked the sacred place, occupied the Mosque and detained 500 people including over 200 Pakistani pilgrims. It was speculated that the violence was "manipulated by the United States." The news sparked off indignation among Pakistanis.

In a radio and TV speech to the nation on the evening of the same day, President Zia-Ul-Haq expressed regret for the incident, and said that the information so far received showed that the armed persons who had occupied the Mosque in Mecca did not belong to any Western country. On November 22, he called a special cabinet meeting which decided to adopt special measures for the protection of foreign missions in the country.

The cabinet ordered an immediate inquiry into the incident leading to the setting on fire of certain buildings of foreign missions. The inquiry committee will also probe whether some vested interests had exploited the situation to their advantage.

Following the incident, the American Embassy decided to evacuate all the dependents of Americans living in Pakistan.

● **Upgrading the Longhai Railway**

The important 1,760-km. Longhai Railway—an east-west trunk line running more or less parallel to the 35th latitude from the seaport of Lianyungang on the east coast to Lanzhou in northwest China—has been double-tracked and automatic block equipment was installed on 200 kilometres of its 572-km. eastern section from Lianyungang to the railway hub of Zhengzhou. Electrification of this line has begun, first on the 512-km. western section from Baoji to the terminus Lanzhou.

China has more than 50,000 kilometres of railway lines extending to all provinces and autonomous regions except Tibet. But many trunk lines are single tracked, and equipment is rather old and traction is mainly by steam locomotives, with diesel and electric locomotives accounting for only about 10 per cent of the nation's railway transport.

Improving the Longhai line is part of the drive to update and expand China's rail network. Track-laying of ten new railways, double-tracking of eight

principal lines and electrification of five trunk lines are under way.

● **Ancient Grand Canal Revived**

The 1,700-kilometre Grand Canal—one of the world's earliest man-made waterways—joining Beijing with the scenic city of Hangzhou in the south has been restored after almost a century of neglect. It is again an important shipping route and irrigation channel.

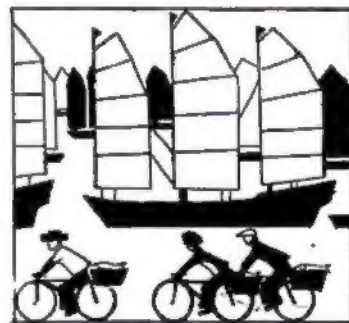
Construction of the canal started about 500 B.C., first by the king of the State of Wu and then by successive dynasties and states, and it was gradually extended to its present length by the end of the 13th century. The canal was originally intended as a water route to ship tribute grain to the imperial court from the south.

Repairs and maintenance were neglected and the canal fell into disuse. In 1855, when the Huanghe River broke its dykes on the lower reaches and flowed southeast, several hundred kilometres of dykes of the Grand Canal were destroyed and some sections were choked with silt so that navigation became impossible.

After liberation in 1949, the People's Government made an overall study of the Grand Canal and began to restore and improve this man-made waterway. Sluice-gates, quays, locks and pumping stations were restored or added. Key sections of the canal were dredged, and then the original 15-metre channel was widened to 45-70 metres and the depth was doubled to

four metres. Apart from straightening bends and detours and strengthening embankments, the government has also built railway and road bridges and culverts. Now 600-ton barges and tug boats can use the canal, whereas it could only take boats up to 50 tons before.

Thousands of pumping stations for flood-control, irrigation and drainage have been put in. Water from the Changjiang River—China's longest river—is being diverted to northern Jiangsu Province via this canal to turn several million hectares of land into paddy fields. Land formerly giving only one low-yield rice crop a year has been made to produce two crops a year, rice and wheat.



The five small earth dykes built in the old days along the Grand Canal in northern Jiangsu to release flood waters were torn down 14 times in nearly 100 years prior to liberation. Each time the area between the dykes and the coast was turned into a churning sea of death. This can never happen now. The building of sluice-gates, pumping stations and water control projects have now made the canal, nearby inhabitants and farms quite safe.



● **Goldfish Exhibition**

Over 100 kinds of goldfish were on display this autumn in Guangzhou's Haizhu Park, attracting many Chinese and foreign visitors.

The goldfish came from six provinces and municipalities including Beijing, Shanghai and Hangzhou. They are recently developed new strains. Some of the more distinctive varieties include: The Guangzhou "red head" which is 28 cm. long and weighs 250 grammes; Beijing's "bubble eyes" with eyes protruding like two real bubbles; "five colours" from Yangzhou city which is spotted and has a red capped head; and the Guangzhou "pearl scales" which has iridescent protruding scales.

The goldfish has evolved from a kind of carp. A special product native to China, it has

gone to all corners of the globe.

● **Sowing Grass by Plane**

Experimental aerial sowing of grass was conducted on 12,800 hectares of pastures this summer in north China. Results showed that 30 to 60 per cent of the seed germinated.

It was the first time in China that grass was sown by plane over such a wide area. The results obtained are so encouraging that aerial sowing next year will be over 26,000 hectares.

Two kinds of grass seed were sown by plane over big tracts of sand-encroached and depleted pastoral land in the Uxin Banner and two other banners in Inner Mongolia. In some places growth is about 10 centimetres. Similar experiments

were carried out in Shaanxi Province and the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region.

Some 46 million hectares of China's 220 million hectares of pastures are in a need of urgent renewing, so aerial sowing may be the answer.

● **International Advertisements Accepted**

More than 20 TV stations, broadcasting stations, newspapers and magazines in Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hangzhou, Nanjing, Beijing, Tianjin and Chengdu have begun to accept commercial advertisements from abroad. Foreign ads are also being taken by 30 major hotels, restaurants and friendship stores in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Nanjing as well as by some trains, ships and cinemas.

(Continued from p. 16.)

support for Morocco" and said the United States was preparing to send Morocco more aid.

Meanwhile, U.S. President Carter's National Security Adviser Brzezinski arrived in Algeria at the end of October and met with President Chadli. He expressed the hope of a political settlement of the West Sahara war. He also declared that the United States would support Morocco if any country attempts to push through a military settlement.

Negotiation Activities. African countries are much concerned about the worsening of the tense situation in West Sahara, particularly the further intervention of the superpowers. They are making a further bid to spur the parties concerned to settle the dispute peacefully through negotiations. The leaders of Tunisia, Senegal and other countries have been shuttling back and forth to seek a peaceful settlement. President Tolbert of Liberia, the present Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, visited Morocco on November 5 for talks with

King Hassan. In December, the O.A.U. will convene a special meeting on the West Sahara problem in Monrovia, capital of Liberia.

In early November, a resolution was adopted by the U.N. Decolonization Committee urging Morocco to end immediately its "occupation" of West Sahara and demanding that it make peace with Polisario. Morocco and four other countries voted against it.

Algeria and Polisario hold that the question of West Sahara is one of decolonization. They are for national self-determination through referendum, and hope that Morocco will negotiate with Polisario for a peaceful settlement. Morocco insists that West Sahara is its territory and no negotiations will be allowed on sovereignty and territorial integrity. There is a great difference between the two sides on the solution of the West Sahara dispute, but both have the desire to reach agreement through dialogue and do not want to see the further deterioration of the situation in West Sahara.

— by Xin Ping



LETTERS FROM READERS

Ye Jianying's Speech

I was very glad to receive issue No. 40 of *Beijing Review*, which carried news about the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. After reading Ye Jianying's speech, I am convinced that, contrary to what the bourgeois press in the West has repeatedly said, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is reaffirmed. I think that this document is of extreme importance not only to the Chinese people but also to all the friends of China, especially those people who are still under the influence of distorted reports by the revisionists and social democrats.

Eleuterio Corte
Funchal, Portugal

Every week I read *Beijing Review* from cover to cover. I think the column "Articles and Documents" is most interesting. Ye Jianying's speech in issue No. 40 is a forthright document to everyone who wants to know in which direction China is moving.

Juantxo Arteaga Yeregui
Lasarte, Spain

Class Struggle

In his Report on the Work of the Government, Premier Hua Guofeng said that "as classes, the landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist" and that "the capitalists no longer exist as a class." But class enemies of every description will exist for a long time to come and the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideologies will continue to be felt. Therefore, it is necessary to carry on the struggle and education

through the dictatorship of the proletariat. To maintain that class struggle no longer exists and to enlarge the scope of class struggle are both wrong. Class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in Chinese society today and the two types of contradictions in socialist society should be correctly handled. This is a reversal of the gang of four's allegation that "class struggle means everything," which did much damage to socialist construction. But obviously this is against the theory of continuing the revolution, and is a central question concerning present-day socialist theory. I hope you will publish news of discussions on this question in your country.

Tatsuro Sigemura
Yokohama, Japan

Please read the article
"Fundamental Change in
China's Class Situation" in
issue Nos. 46 and 47. — Ed.

Ultra-Left or Ultra-Right?

It is inevitable to commit mistakes during the time of turmoil or change. However, with regard to the gang of four and Lin Biao, they were at first said to be "ultra-Right," "Left in form, but Right in essence" and "essentially ultra-Right of the revisionist line"; since recently they have been said to be "ultra-Left" and "Left." I think the latter view is right, and it's wrong to say that they were "ultra-Right." *Beijing Review* should explain this from the theoretical angle to the readers. What perplexes us is when did they turn from ultra-Right to ultra-Left.

Ryoza Kamiya
Aichi, Japan

In view of the cataclysmic effect that Lin Biao and the gang of four seem to have had on the country, I would like to have a better understanding of how they got into power, how they exercised such full control while in power, the degree to which their actions were accepted by the Chinese people, and what brought about their eventual downfall; and their political stance has been criticized in the *Beijing Review* as

"ultra-Left," yet I got the impression that they were actually very much on the political Right. An article on this subject would be enlightening.

A. Michael Stewart
Brisbane, Australia

I think that you should correct the assertion in *Beijing Review* that all the mistakes in China were committed by the gang of four or under its influence. I agree that the gang of four must be fully exposed, but I must remind you not go to extremes and fail to see other mistakes. Such one-sidedness runs counter to dialectics.

Emma Medina Quiroz
Barquisimeto, Venezuela

... A criticism, however, is blaming the gang of four for natural disasters and just about everything else that happened. There is enough blame to go around.

It would seem to me more important to go onward rather than looking back. I think everyone agrees now that the Cultural Revolution was a disaster for China. The gang of four is completely discredited.

Gordon E. Madge
Richmond, U.S.A.

Against Religious Belief

I read on page 8, issue No. 34 of *Beijing Review* that all the bank savings of the capitalists had been returned to them. There is no mention in Mao's little red book that such bank savings should be returned.

On page 30 of issue No. 34, I read that freedom of religious belief is protected in China. I think it is not right to impose such things about religion on Mao but that struggles should be waged against religion by all means.

Religion is opium to the people. I don't agree with the policy of the new leaders of the People's Republic of China.

Leon Goossens
Brussels, Belgium

Chairman Mao was consistently for freedom of religious belief. We are going to publish an article about China's policy on religion. Please read it and let us know your opinions. — Ed.

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Tel: 44-4625

Telex: 22313 CPC CN

*For information please contact our agent in Europe,
North America, Australasia, Southeast Asia and Hong Kong:*

中国编译印务有限公司

CHINA TRANSLATION & PRINTING SERVICES LTD

Address: Reliance Building, 24 Wong Chuk Hang Road,
Aberdeen, Hong Kong

P.O. Box 4013 G.P.O. Hong Kong
Tel: 5-521990, 5-520245

Cables: Transpins Hong Kong
Telex: 64874 CTPS HX